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A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Deng Xiaoping and Party Intellectual Policies
- Planting Trees on Barren Hillsides





Ling Guolian (middle), an assistant agronomist and deputy head of Renqiu County, Hebei Province, works on a scientific experiment.



Bai Lalei, the first medical student of Jinuo nationality in Yunnan Province, treats a local patient with acupuncture.



Liu Jinghe, an psychologist with the Chinese Academy of Sciences, has devoted herself to transforming the children's education.

SPOTLIGHT

Women of the Kucong nationality enjoy their life in a remote mountainous area of Yunnan Province.

Ji Shuzhen (second from left), 23, director of the Jinshan Knitwear Mill in Liaoning Province, painstakingly investigates the running of her factory.



BEIJING REVIEW

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

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COVER: Deng Xiaoping takes part in the mass tree-planting campaign.
Photo by Yang Shaoming

Deng Xiaoping & Party Policies on Intellectuals

This article reviews the struggle between correct and incorrect Party policies on intellectuals since the birth of New China in 1949 and explains how Deng Xiaoping has inherited and developed the Marxist view on intellectuals by correctly assessing the role they played during different historical periods and regarding them as part of the working class (p. 16).

Nakasone to Visit China

The Chinese Government and people warmly await Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone who will visit China in the second half of March. He will meet with Chinese leaders to discuss bilateral relations, international issues of common concern and the establishment of a committee for Sino-Japanese friendship in the 21st century (p. 4).

President Li in Pakistan and Jordan

President Li Xiannian visited Pakistan and Jordan from March 5 to 13. The visits have enhanced mutual understanding, promoted friendship and expanded co-operation between China and the two countries (p. 6).

Planting Trees Over Barren Hills

A tree-planting campaign reached its height on March 12, China's annual afforestation day. Along with this campaign, the state has gradually relaxed its forestry policies. As a result, 25 per cent more land was afforested in 1983 than in the previous year, and the country has benefited from tree planting in its economic development (p. 10).

Statistics on China's Economy

Director of the State Statistical Bureau said although some of the figures released for the 10 chaotic years of 1966-76 are estimated, they have been repeatedly checked and are not without a solid base. He explained why despite devastations brought about by the "cultural revolution," China's economy still registered modest growth during that period (p. 21).

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Prime Minister Nakasone's Visit to China

by MU YOU LIN
International Editor

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan will pay a friendly visit to China in the later part of March at the invitation of the Chinese Government. It will be another major event in Sino-Japanese relations following General Secretary Hu Yaobang's visit to Japan last November. It will also be Nakasone's first visit to China since he became Prime Minister. The Chinese Government and people warmly await him.

Since China and Japan resumed diplomatic ties in 1972, relations between the two countries have developed year by year. Friendly exchanges between the two governments and peoples have increased remarkably, thanks to the joint efforts made by the governments and people of China and Japan. Particularly since the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1978, the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries have come to embrace political, economic, technological and cultural fields. They not only represent the deepest friendship and the most extensive co-operation we have ever had with Japan, but also occupy an important place in our relations with foreign countries. For example, the volume of Sino-Japanese trade has increased 10-fold since the two countries normalized their relations. It now accounts for one-

fourth of China's total foreign trade. Friendship from generation to generation, a common wish of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, has become the concrete actions of the two peoples and an irresistible historical trend.

The contacts and direct exchange of opinions between leaders of the two countries will be of

Through the joint efforts of their governments and peoples, the two great nations of China and Japan will unquestionably live in friendship from generation to generation and make fresh contributions to world peace and prosperity in the 21st century.

great importance in enhancing mutual understanding and promoting traditional friendship and trust.

In November 1983, General Secretary Hu Yaobang visited Japan as a friendly envoy of the Chinese people and was warmly welcomed by Prime Minister Nakasone and officials of the Japanese Government and the public. During his visit, Hu spoke at the Japanese Diet and explained the

importance of and possibilities for developing Sino-Japanese friendship into the 21st century. Prime Minister Nakasone responded enthusiastically to Hu's views.

Both countries showed great foresight in exchanging views on the present and future prospects of Sino-Japanese relations, and agreed that one more phrase would be added to the three principles guiding Sino-Japanese relations. The four principles are now "peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, mutual trust, and long-term stability." They also decided to establish a committee for China-Japan friendship in the 21st century. All these have shown the active attitude of Prime Minister Nakasone in developing Sino-Japanese relations.

Prime Minister Nakasone is an old friend of the Chinese people, being one of the first Japanese statesmen to visit China after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. In the early 1970s, he vigorously supported Kakuei Tanaka's actions to resume diplomatic relations with China. Shortly after the resumption of relations, when he was Minister of Trade and Industry, Nakasone visited China. In 1980, he led a delegation of the Diet members of the Nakasone faction from the Liberal Democratic Party on another friendly visit, making valuable contributions to promoting Sino-Japanese friendship.

Prime Minister Nakasone has always believed that close and



friendly co-operation between Japan and China is a cornerstone for peace in Asia and the world. After he became Japan's Prime Minister, Nakasone said that unshakable trust should be established on the basis of the past 10 years of friendship, and he wanted to see the steady development of Sino-Japanese relations of peace and friendship.

Apart from exchanging views on good-neighbourliness, friendship and international issues of common concern with the Chinese leaders, Prime Minister Nakasone will discuss specific points on the establishment of a committee for China-Japan friendship in the 21st century with Chinese leaders during his visit. Consultations will also be conducted between both sides on extending China the second batch of loans in Japanese yen.

The international situation is turbulent. The continued strengthening of good neighbourliness and friendship between the two countries will not only benefit the people of the two nations, but will also promote peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region. We are convinced that through the joint efforts of the two governments and peoples, China and Japan, two great nations, will surely live in friendship from generation to generation and make new contributions to world peace and prosperity in the 21st century.

We wish complete success for Prime Minister Nakasone's visit to China.

About Environmental Protection

The excerpts from "Huanjing Baohu" published in your January 16, 1984 issue, help us understand the principles guiding China's environmental protection: "Be practical and act according to our abilities. In view of the fact that there are many tasks to be undertaken and the country's financial power is still limited, targets should not be set too high in drawing up environmental protection plans..." While the other principles listed indeed emphasizing avoiding "first pollution and second treatment," the first principle will in my view serve China badly. The countries in the world that have increased their short-term financial power by sacrificing their environments are already learning how short-sighted such policies are.

For the protection of China's people and for the protection of its future generations, and indeed because China has many tasks and limited financial power, as a friend of China may I urge that China aspire to the highest possible environmental protection plans rather than less adequate ones.

Victor W. Sidel, MD
New York City, USA

It is true that China has many things to be done but its financial power is limited, but the government still puts pollution control and environmental protection high on its agenda and makes it a basic state policy. Both long-term and immediate plans are being worked out and put into practice in order to ensure a better living and production condition. This topic was discussed in our "Notes From the Editors" column in issue No. 8. — Ed.

LETTERS

Marriage and Morality

I very much like those articles which offer effective information about human behaviour. The case of Xiao He and his wife Xiao Wang published in issue No. 51, 1983 ("Xiao He vs. Xiao Wang: Should They Divorce?" — Ed.) is thought-provoking, for it has raised the question of how one should look at marriage and morality.

I would like to see more articles like this, as they fill in an information gap about human behaviour.

Bhisma Raj Dhungana
Biratnagar, Nepal

Against Racial Discrimination

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's congratulatory message, published in *Beijing Review* ("Premier Zhao Ziyang Reiterates Opposition to Racism," No. 32, 1983 — Ed.) demonstrates that China opposes racism. Today, racism has become part of the political principles of some governments. South Africa is a case in point.

So far as we know, the third world countries have not yet reached the same level of development as that of the developed countries, therefore racism remains a destructive force in the hands of certain countries.

Friendship between nations should be the common aim of the people all over the world. Like other international movements against racism, the Chinese people also expressed, through their premier, their wish to wage a struggle against racism and racial discrimination.

M. Kadri Ilham
Casablanca, Morocco

Li's State Visits to Pakistan and Jordan

President Li Xiannian left Beijing for Pakistan, Jordan, Turkey and Nepal on March 5, his first state visit abroad since he assumed the presidency last June.

Before his visit, he said his trip was to enhance mutual understanding and study, promote friendship and expand co-operation.

In Pakistan

Li Xiannian had visited Pakistan twice as vice-premier. This time, as head of state he received a grand welcome in the capital of Islamabad.

Pakistan's President Zia-ul-Haq presented Li with "Nishan-e-Pakistan," the highest civil medal, at a ceremony in the Presidential House on the evening of Li's arrival.

Zia gave a state banquet in honour of Li, and the two presidents talked on March 5 and 6. They were satisfied with the development of their countries' friendly relations and held identical views on a broad range of important international issues.

The Chinese president pointed out that the international situation is currently marked by unrest and instability. The root cause of this is the rivalry between the two superpowers, he said.

On the Afghan and Kampuchean issues, Li said they will both be solved politically in the end. But first of all the foreign troops must unconditionally and completely withdraw from these countries, and their independence and sovereignty be respected and guaranteed.

He praised the Pakistan Gov-

ernment's humanitarian assistance to the 3 million Afghan refugees and its adherence to the principles of the UN resolutions on Afghanistan.

Zia said that the current world situation is "in a critical and difficult time. A number of countries have become the victims of the superpowers' rivalry."

He urged the pullout of foreign forces for a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan and Kampuchean issues.

Zia also said Pakistan always supports the cause of the Palestinian people and supports Lebanon's status as an independent country. He said he hoped a solution to the Iran-Iraq war would be found as soon as possible.

The two leaders also exchanged views on further strengthening the friendly relations and co-operation between their countries. Zia called the relationship between Pakistan and China "a model between state and state." Li said history had proved the solid foundation and enormous vitality of Sino-Pakistani friendship.

Li, accompanied by Zia, visited Lahore, the second largest city in Pakistan. He attended a reception chaired by the Mayor of Lahore, Mian Shujaur Rahman, at the Mshakimar Garden. The reception was attended by about 10,000 people.

Li praised the Pakistani people as industrious and brave. He said Pakistan had made remarkable achievements in all areas of economic and national construction.

Li told the gathering that the Chinese people love peace. The

President Li Xiannian gives a return banquet in honour of President Zia-ul-Haq.



Press Conference

Vice-Foreign Minister Gong Dafei, a member of President Li Xian-nian's entourage, held a press conference in Lahore on March 8 to answer questions about China's relations with the two superpowers and the situation in Asia.

At the press conference, Gong said judging from the current state of affairs, the Soviet Union has no intention of withdrawing from Afghanistan and thus paving the way for a political settlement.

A Soviet pullout is possible only when Moscow gives up its strategy of driving southward, when it has suffered much heavier losses on the battlefield before a growing resistance force, or when all justice-upholding and peace-loving peoples bring stronger pressure to bear on the Soviet Union, isolating it internationally, he added. Soviet actions are also facing increasing opposition at home.

Gong said China appreciates Pakistan's pursuit of a political settlement on the basis of a Soviet troop withdrawal, restoration of Afghanistan's sovereignty and its independent and non-aligned status, the safe return of refugees and respect for the Afghan people's right to determine their own political and economic systems.

He noted that China hopes to see a political settlement and the Afghan territory cleared of Soviet invaders.

Chinese Government "is ready to develop relations with every country on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We believe that all countries, big or small, are equal. They should live in friendship and work for common progress. We attach particular importance to strengthening

On Sino-US relations, Gong told reporters that the Taiwan problem remains a major obstacle in the relationship between the two countries which have developed normally since formal diplomatic ties were established. He noted the recent visit of Premier Zhao Ziyang to the United States had brought the Americans a better understanding of China's position on the Taiwan issue. The leaders of the two countries will further exchange views on this issue when President Ronald Reagan visits China in April.

Asked about reports of growing Soviet military aid to India, Gong said he had only learnt the news from the press and has no details. China always upholds peace in the world, including Southeast and South Asia, he said. China and Pakistan are peace-loving countries which hope to see the situation in the region relaxed, and both are working hard to maintain peace in the region, he said.

India and Pakistan are big countries, and it is China's sincere wish to see their relations improve and develop, he added.

China hopes to cultivate friendly relations with her neighbours on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, Gong said.

China, Pakistan and India are all developing countries. They need a peaceful environment to gain time to build their countries and enhance the quality of the material and cultural lives of their people.

unity and co-operation with the third world countries. We sympathize with and support them in their just struggles to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence, and in their efforts to develop their national economies."

The Chinese people have feel-

ings of friendship for the peoples of South Asian countries, Li said. "We have always made efforts to develop good-neighbourly relations with these countries. We endorse the proposal for an Indian Ocean peace zone and a nuclear-free zone in South Asia, and support regional co-operation among the South Asian countries," he said.

He pledged, "We are for North-South dialogue and strengthened South-South economic co-operation. We will, as always, stand firmly on the side of the people throughout the world and the justice-upholding countries, and make concerted efforts with them to combat hegemonism, safeguard peace and security in Asia and the world, ease international tension and halt the arms race."

During his stay in Lahore, Li attended a dinner given in his honour by Ghulam Jilani Khan, Governor of Pakistan's Punjab Province. He also met with Mumtaz Ahmed Khan, Chairman of the Pakistan-China Friendship Association of Lahore. He watched the grand horse and cattle show and was accorded an enthusiastic welcome by 50,000 spectators.

In Jordan

President Li Xiannian's six-day (March 8-13) visit to Jordan is the first ever of a Chinese president to that country.

There are good relations between the two countries, Li said upon his arrival at Amman Airport. These relations were reflected by the grand welcoming ceremony and the banquet in Li's honour.

The two leaders talked about bilateral relations and international problems of mutual concern.

King Hussein reaffirmed Jordan's firm support for the Pales-



King Hussein of Jordan greets President Li Xiannian at the airport.

tinian people and the peoples of Namibia, Kampuchea and Afghanistan in their struggles for the right to self-determination. "Jordan will strive with other peace-loving countries to end all forms of colonialism, aggression and armed occupation of other's territory under any pretext," Hussein said.

He denounced Israeli moves to change the status of the occupied Arab territories and said Israel's organized suppression of the Palestinian people is aimed at driving them from their homeland.

Li said that a comprehensive and just settlement of the problems in the Middle East must include two basic conditions: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories they have occupied since 1967 and the full restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

Li said he appreciated the Jordanian King's positive efforts to support the Palestinian people's just struggle and promote Arab unity.

The two leaders agreed to continue their support of the Palestinian people and work for a comprehensive and just settlement.

Both leaders said they were satisfied with the friendly and co-operative relations between their two countries, and hoped the departments concerned will further consult on developing and expanding economic, technical, trade and other forms of co-operation.

Li praised the Jordanian people for their remarkable achievements in recent years in developing their economy, culture and education, and on raising the people's living standards under the leadership of King Hussein.

Li visited the Martyr's Monument in Amman and called Jordan an "heroic nation." He also attended a performance by the brass band of the military forces.

Li met with Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who flew to Amman from Tunisia for the meeting. Li reassured Arafat of China's support.

He said, "The superpowers are fighting each other more intensely in the Middle East, and neither of them will lightly call it quits in the region. So for the Palestinian people the battle remains long, tough and complicated." But he said he was convinced that the Palestinian people would win in the end.

Arafat accepted Li's invitation and told Li he was looking forward to visiting China next month.

President Li left Jordan for Turkey on March 13, continuing his four-country trip.

US Has Violated Communique

China firmly opposes the planned US sale of US\$760 million of arms to Taiwan in the 1985 fiscal year, and demands that the US Government gradually reduce such sales as it has promised, Foreign Ministry spokesman said in an interview on March 10.

The spokesman pointed out that although the US Government stressed the planned sales, announced on March 2, are less than those in either of the two preceding fiscal years, they still exceed "the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China," the ceiling level stipulated in the China-US Joint Communique of August 17, 1982.

"China has made serious representations to the US Government through diplomatic channels, demanding that it live up to the related promise it has repeatedly made, and genuinely reduce its arms sales to Taiwan in true observance of the stipulations in the joint communique," he said.

The spokesman also noted that the US Government had decided to approve sales of S70C helicopters to Taiwan. Such craft, he pointed out, while primarily for civil use, can easily be converted into assault helicopters. "The Chinese Government in its representations has demanded the US Government guarantee that it will not supply Taiwan with any instruments or equipment that can be used for converting such helicopters to military use," he said.

If the United States acts otherwise, the spokesman pointed out, it will constitute a disguised enhancement of the proportion of arms for Taiwan, in serious violation of the stipulations in the joint communique, a fact to which the Chinese Government will never agree.

Women: Greater Role to Play

China's women have been asked to heighten their political consciousness and professional knowledge and skills in order to work better for the four modernizations and invigorate the nation. The call came from Hao Jianxiu in her address at a rally commemorating International Working Women's Day on March 7 in Beijing.

Hao, alternate member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, said Chinese women have contributed much to the rapid development of the national economy through their posts in industry, agriculture and other fields.



At the tea-party commemorating International Working Women's Day in Beijing.

They have won respect and high praise from the Party, government and society.

She pointed out that the Party is concerned about women's position in society, their role and their immediate interests, and attaches importance to training women cadres all the time.

Beginning last winter, a nationwide campaign was launched to safeguard the legal rights and interests of women and children. It has already brought about obvious results. For instance, 140 public trials in Jiangxi Province sentenced more than 1,000 criminals who had injured women and children.

The grass-roots organizations of the All-China Women's Federation helped mediate in family quarrels, saved many a woman and child from persecution and maltreatment and helped those who went awry or lost confidence in themselves.

Hao Jianxiu asked the Party and government bodies at all levels to further train and promote women cadres, solve the problems concerning women's employment, educational opportunities, labour protection and statutory benefits and

bonuses. She called for more child-care and household services, to gradually relieve women from their household burdens.

Hao said women should live up to their role of holding up half of the sky. They must break the shackles of outdated and backward traditions. They should be self-possessed and self-confident in coping with the relationship between work, study, love, marriage and family.

On March 8, more than 2,000 Chinese and foreign women gathered at the Great Hall of the People to observe their own festival. Deng Yingchao, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and other leaders attended the get-together.

Commemorative activities were held throughout the country and elite women made the headlines in all the major national newspapers. They included a whole spectrum of women, from veteran revolutionaries of the Long March generation to young and middle-aged advanced workers who have become politically mature since the founding of the People's Republic.

Greenery to Be Accelerated

March 12 — China's annual tree-planting day — kicked off a mass afforestation campaign this spring in the country.

Deng Xiaoping, the initiator of the campaign, Hu Yaobang and other Party and state leaders went to plant trees at the Ming Tombs in Beijing's suburbs that day.

Recently the Central Afforestation Commission under the Central Government commended 221 work units for their voluntary efforts to plant trees, and called on the whole nation to accelerate the greening of barren hills.

In the past few years, as China's national voluntary tree-planting movement unfolded, forestry policies were gradually relaxed. Last Year saw 25 per cent more land afforested than in the previous year, and aerial tree-seeding doubled. The survival rate generally improved.

The large-scale afforestation has already benefited the country. In north China, for example, 7 million hectares have been planted with trees as shelter forest and as many hectares of farmland flourish under the protection of the sand and wind breaks.

At present, 50 million households have been allotted 16.67 million hectares of hills and dales for private use. Eighty per cent of the management rights over trees on these hillsides were given to the contractors to set up the forest production responsibility system. But on the whole, the policies and regulations did not give free rein to the contractors, and so a great many barren hills lay wasted.

A circular issued by the Party Central Committee and the State Council at the beginning of this month emphasized that forestry policies should be more flexible.



Workers dig out tree saplings from a nursery in Gansu Province.

More hillsides should be offered to peasants for their private use, so as to exploit the barren mountains. It said the allotted hills are owned by the collectives, while the trees and grass grown on them belong to the individual contractors. The mountain plots may be contracted on a long-term basis. They can be inherited and transferred for money. And the products from them, after meeting the contractual quotas, will be left at the disposal of the contractors. The circular said the legitimate rights and interests of the contractors are protected by law.

The flexibility of policy is indicated by whether the masses are enthusiastic about investing money and labour power in the barren hills and flood land and whether they offer their suggestions and proposals as to how to develop mountainous areas, according to Vice-Premier Wan Li's explanation of the circular.

Wan said contractors with huge areas of barren hillsides might have to engage more labourers to help forest the land. The policies should be flexible enough to allow for this possibility.

Contracting to forest the hillsides is already quite popular in the countryside. Hebei Province is taking the lead. Last year, 1.7 million hectares were forested, 3.6 times as many as in 1982. About 82.3 per cent of the afforestable hills in the province have become verdant. Chicheng County's newly forested hills account for 73 per cent of the total afforested areas over the last 30 years.

In 1981, the collectives invested 110,000 yuan in greening programmes, but not one individual offered a penny. In 1983, the collectives gave 467,000 yuan, while individual investors came up with 23,000 yuan.

Young people have been the vanguard in the voluntary tree-planting campaign. Recently, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League and the Ministry of Forestry decided to organize the youngsters in the six provinces and autonomous regions along the Huanghe (Yellow) River to afforest its banks.

The project covers an area 3,000 kilometres long and 10 kilometres wide. It will be completed in 1990.



Guangdong peasants will sell these fish in a local market.

Food Supply Improved

China's total retail sales reached 284 billion yuan in 1983, a 10.5 per cent increase over the previous year. Food retail sales went up 13.4 per cent, according to the State Statistical Bureau.

As the people's incomes have increased over the past few years, their demand for food and other consumer goods is increasing. And owing to the flexible policies and new commodity sources, the shortage of certain foods in some big cities is rapidly easing. Non-staple foods such as eggs, fish and milk, which were rationed in the past, are now freely supplied, together with meat.

Before 1982 each household of the 5 million in urban Beijing was allowed only 1.5 kilogrammes or even 0.5 kilogramme of eggs a month. In the past few years, the municipal government established a group of state or collectively owned automatic or semi-automatic chicken farms, while encouraging the peasants in the suburbs to develop family chicken raising. As a result, egg produc-

tion increased and the supply of eggs was available without restriction last March.

Although Guangzhou is a coastal city, it was not easy for the city dwellers to buy fresh fish in the past because all the fish was purchased and then sold only through the state-owned shops. Since 1979, the city government has adopted a series of flexible measures to solve this problem. The city government has set up more than 30 free markets and a wholesale station for freshwater fish. All these efforts have increased the supply of fresh fish, and the number of available varieties went from 10 to 70. Last year 75,000 tons of fish and other aquatic products were sold in the city, or a record supply of 30 kilogrammes for each person.

Though Harbin is located on the Northeast China Plain, suitable for both agriculture and animal husbandry, the city's milk supply was barely enough to feed the infants, old people and patients a few

years ago. But the situation has changed since 1980, when the city government began to encourage state-owned farms, collective units and individuals to raise dairy cows. By the end of last year, there were 2,000 rural households specializing in raising cows, keeping 4,700 milk cows in all. These specialized households provided 60 per cent of the city's milk last year. Now the people of Harbin can buy milk any time they like and the households with a standing order for milk have increased 3-fold.

Peasants Buy Airplane

The villagers of Liuzhuang, a Henan village, have become the first peasants to own an airplane. They will use their "Bee 3," a super-light airplane, to spray pesticides and fertilizer on their grain and cotton fields, and for aerial seeding to aid the local afforestation programme.

Liuzhuang Village is located in the old bed of the Huanghe (Yellow) River, on the North Henan Plain. The village, which has 126 hectares of land and more than 200 households, earned 4.11 million yuan in 1983, doubling its sum for 1980, while its per-capita income reached 3,240 yuan. The peasants spent 19,500 yuan for the airplane.

The "Bee 3," which will be delivered in the later half this year, is designed and manufactured by the Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute. The institute will also help train educated youths from the village to be pilots.

Following Liuzhuang's example, peasants in Shunyi, Miyun, Daxing, Huairou and other counties in Beijing suburbs, and some agro-scientific research institutes have also ordered airplanes of this type.

Viet Nam

Why More Anti-China Hysterics?

by TANG TIANRI

HANOI has recently launched a new propaganda campaign, strongly condemning China's self-defensive fight five years ago to repel Vietnamese border intrusions, our recovery of the Xisha Islands and our frontier troops' counter-attacks against Vietnamese military provocations.

In this anti-China hysteria, Hanoi also falsely accused China of "seeking hegemonistic gains, threatening peace and stability in Southeast Asia, committing acts of armed provocation in the border areas," etc.

It is evident that this new outburst of anti-China sentiment was carefully planned by the Vietnamese authorities.

What is noteworthy, however, is the time they have chosen to unleash their new wave of propaganda and the true intentions behind it.

People know that since the present dry season began last October Viet Nam has been continually concentrating its troops along the Kampuchean-Thai border, sending in heavy weapons such as tanks, artillery, and rockets to prepare for a new dry season offensive. In fact, Vietnamese troops have already mounted a number of attacks on Son Sann-led resistance forces. To cover up their preparations for a new offensive and divert public attention, the Vietnamese authorities are repeating the worn-out accusation of the Chinese threat. They deny their plans for a new dry season offensive and instead accuse China of preparing for war.

The voices all over the world calling for Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea are getting louder. The Thai Government has lodged strong protests against repeated Vietnamese incursions and shellings within Thailand's borders and denounced Hanoi for its threatening remarks against the ASEAN countries on the Kampuchean issue.

In order to reverse its present unfavourable position, Hanoi is launching a diplomatic offensive, inviting foreigners to visit Viet Nam, and planning to send its foreign minister on tours abroad. Meanwhile, Hanoi has set its propaganda machine in motion against China in an attempt to create confusion as to where the threat to peace and stability in Southeast Asia comes from. The Vietnamese authorities have tried every trick in their book to make people believe that this threat is from China and not Viet Nam. By so doing, Viet Nam imagines that it can sow discord between China and the ASEAN states, find an excuse for its refusal to withdraw from Kampuchea and legitimize its occupation.

This major anti-China propaganda campaign also serves the

Vietnamese authorities at home. The Vietnamese people have long shown deep discontent with their government's aggression in Kampuchea and the deterioration of Viet Nam-China relations. The Hanoi authorities need to divert people's attention.

Facts have proved that however loudly Hanoi may play its "China threat," it can never conceal the existence of its nearly 200,000 troops stationed in Kampuchea, which are posing a grave threat to the security of Southeast Asia. Viet Nam's aggression in Kampuchea, its anti-China policy and its pursuance of regional hegemonism are very unpopular in the world.

China has stated again and again that once the Vietnamese authorities commit themselves to a complete troop withdrawal from Kampuchea and actually begin implementing it, China and Viet Nam can resume their negotiations on normalizing their relations. What is regrettable is that Viet Nam has so far turned a deaf ear to China's sincere remarks. If the Vietnamese authorities blindly continue their current unpopular policies, they can only expect stronger resistance from the Chinese people and the world's people as a whole, including the Vietnamese people. It is high time for Hanoi to think it over again and change its course.

Stockholm

Marathon Disarmament Conference

by JIANG JIANGUO

NO progress has been made in Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE), which began on Jan. 17 in Stockholm, and is attended by heads of 35 delegations

— the United States, Canada and all of Europe except Albania.

The conference, which is expected to discuss measures to boost confidence and establish mutual trust between East and West in the military field, was scheduled

to recess on March 16, ending its first working stage.

After nearly two months of talks, the CDE has accomplished nothing. No concrete problems were discussed, and the delegates have not even reached a general consensus of views on the conference schedule.

The current CDE is the second review conference, following on the Madrid review conference on European security and co-operation. Delegates to the Madrid security conference, which lasted for three years and ended last September, also decided to hold a Vienna conference in 1986—the third review of the conference on European security and co-operation. Three experts' conferences to discuss disarmament and measures for establishing mutual trust and security, human rights and exchanges of personnel are to be held separately in 1984, 1985 and 1986, and the final documents will be examined at the Vienna conference.

But it is the CDE in Stockholm which attracts the most attention, and its schedule is the longest. It is planned to last for three years. One meeting is to be held this year and another next year, both eight-months long. There will be another six-month meeting in 1986.

No Miracle Appears

The Western press and political figures have not expressed much interest in the current conference because of the failure of the previous two conferences on European security and co-operation. On the eve of this CDE, observers predicted that the present meeting would be a "dialogue on the icy cold snow" or something akin to "a deaf dialogue."

After the United States began deploying medium-range missiles in Western Europe last December, the Soviet Union broke off the Geneva talks on medium-range missile control, the negotiations on

International Conference Backing Korean Talks Plan

AN international conference on Korea's independent and peaceful reunification ended in Paris on March 10, voicing wholehearted support for the proposed tripartite talks.

Government, parliamentary and party delegations from 40 countries—Portugal, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Guinea, Malagasy, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, China, the Soviet Union, Benin, Mali, the Congo, Togo, France and others—and representatives of more than 10 international organizations attended the conference.

An appeal to all governments, international organizations and people of the world, a letter to the UN Secretary General and another to US congressional representatives were sent by the conference.

The appeal gives full support to the proposal put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) on Jan. 10 this year for tripartite talks between the DPRK, south Korea and the United States on Korea's independent and peaceful reunification.

The appeal says conference participants believe replacing the 1953 Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement could remove the danger of war in Korea and the obstacles to the country's peaceful reunification. The participants expressed their regret at the US response to the proposal in vague terms, the recent military exercises and the south Korean authorities' refusal by setting pre-conditions.

The letter to the UN Secretary General urges the world body to pay attention to the tension on the Korean Peninsula and support the proposal for tripartite talks.

The letter to the US congressional representatives points out that the passiveness of the south Korean authorities is linked with the ambiguous position taken by the US administration. "If the US administration really wishes to have peace as it has affirmed, it should agree without delay to participate in the proposed tripartite talks along with south Korea, thus paving the way for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem based on respect for each other's interests," the letter said.

limiting strategic nuclear missiles and the European disarmament talks on conventional arms. All channels for negotiations have been blocked. US-Soviet relations are at their lowest level and the situation in Europe has become tenser. Many European countries hope the CDE will promote Washington-Moscow dialogue, encourage them to resume negotiations and thaw icy East-West relations.

NATO countries decided to send their foreign ministers to the CDE

for the ministerial meeting last December. The Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries also announced their foreign ministers would participate in the conference, and Washington and Moscow decided that their foreign ministers would meet at the Stockholm conference. Washington even announced that the CDE would be a turning-point for improving East-West relations. All these statements have imbued the CDE conference with great political significance and

aroused attention all over the world.

However, the expected miracle at the CDE has not yet appeared. In their speeches at the conference, US Secretary of State George Shultz and his counterpart Andrei Gromyko blamed each other for suspending the disarmament negotiations and intensifying international tensions.

As for the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles they walked out of last year, Moscow insists that the Soviet Union will agree to return to the negotiating table only after West Europe returns to the situation before the deployment of new US missiles. But Washington has ignored the Soviet statements and continued its Euromissile deployment as scheduled by NATO. The serious Soviet-US confrontation has disappointed many European countries.

Different Proposals

The Madrid conference set a series of tasks for the current CDE: aiming to formulate a new, effective and concrete action programme for reducing terrorism, taking joint action against sudden military attacks, and reducing the likelihood of a new war. However, the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries are singing different tunes and taking opposing stands.

The key point of the six-point proposal put forward by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations is to demand the East and West sign a treaty not to use any military force and raise a series of items for discussion, such as no first use of nuclear missiles and establishing nuclear-free zones. But Western countries consider that not all these questions are appropriate to be raised at the Stockholm conference. Washington accused the Soviet Union of using these issues to win propaganda superiority.

The United States and its allies also put forward a six-point proposal on the conference which includes exchanges of information on the structure and location of troops in Europe, the exchange of forecasts of planned military manoeuvres and verification of military manoeuvres and activities. All these proposals were refused by Moscow before and have been immediately rebuffed once again. The Soviet Union said the NATO plan was trying to extract information from Warsaw Pact countries.

Aside from the proposals put forward by Washington and Moscow, Romania also proposed a programme calling for a halt to the deployment of US missiles in Europe, establishing nuclear-free zones and other concrete problems for establishing mutual trust, security, etc. The Romanian proposal reflects the urgent desire of small

and medium-sized countries for European security and peace.

Participants have had a deep impression of the fierce disputes between the two superpowers from the first and second conferences on European security and co-operation. Since the CDE began on Jan. 17, the fierce Soviet-US contention has reappeared. But it may be possible for them to reach conciliation on some issues through mediation by small and medium-sized countries.

The United States has won the upper hand, as it has deployed new missiles in Europe. Meanwhile, a presidential election is approaching. It is still not known how the newly elected Soviet leader Chernenko will deal with the Western countries.

The CDE in Stockholm is likely to be no more than a marathon without a prize.

United States

Growing Black Participation in Politics

by LI DAOKUI

THE announcement of his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president by the civil-rights leader and Baptist minister Jesse Jackson was another unusual event in US politics, following the election of another black politician, Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago. Jackson's announcement has attracted much attention and comment.

A Push for Blacks

Jackson strongly supports the idea of a black running for the presidency, and early last year he

indicated his own willingness to run. Last June black leaders from all walks of life met in Chicago, adopting a resolution favouring a black candidate for president. Although the resolution did not name the candidate, it apparently meant Jackson.

But not all black leaders agreed on the matter. Some, including Martin Luther King's widow Coretta Scott King, expressed objections to or reservations about Jackson's candidacy. They believe that because he lacks experience in office Jackson has little chance of winning the Democratic nomination. Instead, he might affect the nomination of Walter Mondale, who is welcomed among black

people. Also, they fear his candidacy will split the black leaders and sour black people's relations with the Democratic Party.

However, Jackson and his supporters consider his entry into the campaign as the best way to force the mass media to pay attention to black issues. They also believe it will help spur blacks to participate in politics and defeat President Ronald Reagan in the coming election. Before last November, Jackson spent six months travelling across the south and other parts of the country. He called on blacks to take part in the campaign and register to vote. His ideas were well-received. Because of his fine performance, he won the support of the majority of black leaders and decided to run.

A Force to Be Reckoned With

In fact, Jackson's campaign is the outcome of a growing black rights movement in the United States.

During the late 1950s and 60s, American blacks participated in a mighty movement for civil rights throughout the nation. In order to ease sharpening contradictions at home, the US ruling class was forced to drop its practice of oppressing blacks and adopt the policy of control through conciliation. In 1964 an amendment to the American Constitution was adopted, under which citizens may not be deprived of the right to vote because of failing to pay a poll tax.

Later, the US Congress adopted the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, which prohibit racial discrimination in public places and guarantee blacks equal access to jobs and the voting booth. Although these acts have often met with obstruction in practice, for two decades black

people have succeeded in improving their social status through persistent struggles and have emerged as a significant political force in America.

In 1980, of 26.62 million blacks, 16.4 million were eligible to vote. Roughly 10 million of them actually registered. During the 1982 off-year election, a voter registration campaign was conducted among blacks, bringing the figure up to more than 11 million. This year, black organizations throughout the country are rallying in their efforts to expand the campaign, trying to register 75 per cent of all eligible black voters before the November election.

Half of America's black people live in 11 southern states. Some key states, such as New York, California, Illinois and Texas, have up to 1 million blacks. In more than 10 large and medium-sized cities, the number of black voters has risen to as high as 40-65 per cent of the population. Black people will decide where 220 presidential votes will go, and with additional 50 votes this figure would secure a candidate for the presidency.

However, despite the fact that many blacks are better off economically and educationally than ever before, black people generally have a lower economic status than whites, and politically, they are far from equal. Since 1970 a growing number of blacks have been elected to public office, but they have generally assumed posts at the local level. No black has ever been elected governor of a state, and few have served as high-ranking officials in the Federal Government.

Black people are therefore looking forward to a change in the unequal political situation. Today, the black movement has shifted from fighting public discrimination and encouraging employment and education, to struggling for equal

political standing. It is against this background that Jackson has stepped forward to run.

A Hard Struggle Ahead

Jackson has no real hopes of winning the Democratic nomination, still less of entering the White House. But his candidacy will influence the national election this year and American politics in the future.

Jackson's run for the nomination has sparked black people's enthusiasm for politics. With this push, they will further assert themselves as a crucial political force.

Jackson has clearly indicated his intention to run in the Democratic Party and not as an independent candidate. This will force his Democratic rivals to heed black demands. At the same time, Jackson can use the strength of black people to pressure whichever of his rivals wins the Democratic nomination to make promises favouring black voters.

As the situation stands, black people still face obstacles on their way to full political equality. The American ruling class is unwilling to accept genuine equality. It is reluctant to see blacks joining the policy-makers and sharing their power. Although racial discrimination has been made illegal after the black people's sustained struggle, racial prejudice and discrimination remain fairly strong in the United States. A long and difficult struggle lies ahead for blacks in their fight for genuine political equality.

CORRECTION: In our issue No. 10, 1984, page 12, paragraph 1, line 7 in the middle column, "However, the two warring sides have not accepted the negotiating conditions offered, bringing the efforts by the international community to nothing," should read, "However, the negotiating conditions offered have not been accepted, bringing the efforts of the international community to nothing."

Deng Xiaoping and Party's Intellectual Policies

Despite many ups and downs, Deng has indefatigably restored and developed the Party's Marxist policy of alliance with intellectuals as part of the working people

This article serves as background for the study of the role of intellectuals as expounded in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," which was published a short time ago. It traces the development of the Communist Party's policies on intellectuals since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and the struggle between correct and incorrect policies. The author is the Deputy Director of the Party Literature Research Centre of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. —Ed.

by GONG YUZH1

IN the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (1975-82), many articles are about intellectuals, education, science and culture. These articles reflect how the Party Central Committee has, in the last few years, set things to rights regarding intellectuals and formulated new policies.

Historical Review

To help people understand the articles on intellectuals in the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, a review of the Party's policies on intellectuals and work in this respect is necessary.

In his report to the 12th National Party Congress in September 1982 (see *Beijing Review* No. 37, 1982 — Tr.), General Secretary Hu Yaobang said, "In the past, owing to the influence of 'Left' ideas and the small-producer mentality, erroneous views such as underestimating the importance of education, science and culture and discriminating against intellectuals were rife in our Party over a fairly long period."

But how long was this "fairly long period"?

During the course of the dem-

ocratic revolution, from 1921 when the Chinese Communist Party was founded to the nationwide liberation in 1949, although the Party sometimes made some mistakes in its practical work with the intellectuals, its policies and work in this field were, on the whole, correct and successful. Many progressive intellectuals served as the vanguard of the revolution. Many were admitted into

the Party, and tempered themselves to become advanced elements of the proletariat in the protracted revolutionary struggle. Many other intellectuals were more and more inclined to progressive thinking, revolution and the Communist Party. They enthusiastically welcomed the victory of the revolution led by the Party, and the founding of New China.

This contrasts sharply with the situation in the Soviet Union in the early years after the victory of the October Revolution. There, most senior and middle-level intellectuals were sceptical about or hostile towards the revolution. Of course, this is mainly due to the differences of time and historical background. But it is also the result of our Party's correct policies concerning intellectuals and its long-time work among them.

Engineer Pan Baolei (middle) from Taiwan Province is a council member of the Shaanxi Light Industry Association.



The "fairly long period" Hu Yaobang referred to is the period after the founding of the People's Republic.

Roughly speaking, the "Left" mistake in the work with intellectuals began before 1956, when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed. The mistake was made worse in 1957, after the anti-Rightist struggle was magnified. The Party leaders discovered this mistake, struggled against it and corrected or restricted the error to some extent. However, these struggles were not carried out thoroughly and their results were discarded or labelled "revisionist" during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76). As a result, this "Left" mistake in the question of intellectuals was carried to extremes during this chaotic period.

Striding Forward

In 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took the correction of the "Left" mistake on the role of intellectuals as one of the central tasks in straightening things out.

But later, Comrade Mao Zedong, who could not tolerate a systematic correction of the mistakes of the "cultural revolution," launched the so-called movement to counter the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts. (The movement led to Deng Xiaoping's dismissal from his post for the second time during the "cultural revolution.")—*Ed.*) One of the chief "indictments" of the Right deviationist trend was, it was alleged, taking the stand of bourgeois intellectuals to oppose the reform of bourgeois intellectuals, while claiming that many of them have already been reformed.

Soon after the gang of four was smashed, when Deng Xiaoping had not yet been rehabilitated, the correction of the Party's intellectual policies became one of the central issues which arrested his attention.



Associate researcher Li Shude (left) of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences has devoted his efforts to breeding new tomato strains.

His talk on May 24, 1977 was incorporated into the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* and printed under two titles. In one, "Respect Knowledge, Respect Trained Personnel," Deng said, "We must create within the Party an atmosphere of respect for knowledge and respect for trained personnel. The erroneous attitude of not respecting intellectuals must be opposed. All work, be it mental or manual, is labour. Those who engage in mental work are also workers."

The Third Plenary Session of the 10th Party Central Committee in July 1977 decided to reinstate Comrade Deng Xiaoping's posts, both inside and outside the Party. In his speech at the Plenary Session, he explained the necessity of understanding Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately, to counter the "two whatever" view.* He brought up the question of the role of intellectuals as the first example to illustrate his point.

At that time, thoroughly solving the problem of the "two assessments" became a key step in making further progress. The "two assessments" refer to the two political

conclusions made in the summary of the National Conference on Educational Work in 1971. The first was that during the 17 years prior to the start of the "cultural revolution" the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in education. That is, the dictatorship was by proponents of a sinister line. The second assessment was that the world outlook of the vast majority of intellectuals was basically bourgeois, that is, they were bourgeois intellectuals.

In August and September 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered two important speeches, "Some Comments on Work in Science and Education" and "On the Question of Setting the Educational Front to Rights." The central point of these speeches was to reject these "two assessments."

It is worth noting that while the summary was being enacted and implemented, the "two assess-

* This refers to a statement made by former Chairman of the Party Central Committee Hua Guofeng that "We must resolutely support whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and consistently follow whatever directives Chairman Mao issued."



Wang Licheng from Henan Province and one of the eight geography teaching aids he created.

ments" already cast doubt upon many cadres and intellectuals in educational work, and met with their resistance. After the smashing of the gang of four, the majority of cadres and intellectuals strongly demanded the resolution of the issue of the "two assessments." However, according to the guiding thought as epitomized in the "two whatever" view, this problem could not then be solved, for the summary had been approved by Comrade Mao Zedong.

This being the case, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping decided to reject the "two assessments," his Marxist political courage came from his belief in seeking truth from facts and the voice of the masses. In his first speech, he explained how to correctly assess the achievements made in educational work in the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic and how to correctly appraise the progress and contributions made by the majority of intellectuals. In his second speech, he bluntly criticized the "two assessments" as not conforming to realities. He added, "True, Comrade Mao Zedong read it and

made a mark of endorsement on the summary. But that does not mean that it was necessarily correct in every respect." In this

Everyone who works, whether with his hands or his brains, is a member of the working people in a socialist society; the intellectuals differ from the manual workers only in the role they play in the socialist society.

way, the shackles of the "two whatever" view were broken on such a major issue.

The overthrow of the "two assessments" smoothed the path for making further progress.

In March 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave an important speech at the opening ceremony of the

National Science Conference. A programmatic definition of the Party's policies on intellectuals during the new period, Deng inherited and developed Comrade Zhou Enlai's position on intellectuals in his speeches at a meeting on intellectuals in 1956 and at the Guangzhou Conference on Science, Literature and Art in 1962. Like Comrade Zhou, Deng stressed making a practical, Marxist appraisal of the class nature of the majority of intellectuals in China. He said, "Generally speaking, the overwhelming majority of them are already intellectuals serving the working class and other working people. It can therefore be said that they are already part of the working class itself. They differ from the manual workers only insofar as they perform different roles in the social division of labour. Everyone who works, whether with his hands or with his brains, is part of the working people in a socialist society."

After this, Comrade Deng Xiaoping discussed the role of intellectuals on many other occasions. On January 16, 1980, he gave the speech "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us" in which he proposed, "We need to build up an enormous contingent of cadres who have both an unswerving socialist orientation and professional knowledge and competence." He regarded this as a necessary precondition for realizing the four modernizations.

In "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership," another important speech Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave on August 18, 1980, he pointed out, "Many comrades pay little attention to our cadres becoming better educated and acquiring professional knowledge. This is yet another evil result of the long-standing 'Left' ideas on the question of intellectuals."

On July 2, 1981, Comrade Deng

Xiaoping gave his speech, "The Primary Task of Veteran Cadres Is to Select Young and Middle-Aged Cadres." He called upon the veteran cadres to pay particular attention to selecting and promoting university graduates from the 1960s, or middle-aged intellectuals, to succeed them. In his speech "Streamlining Administration is a Revolution" on January 13, 1982, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further stressed that to make the ranks of our cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally competent is a "strategic need for revolution and construction." It is also the veteran cadres' "last historical contribution to the Party, and a severe test of the Party spirit of each of us."

These speeches show that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has concentrated his efforts on embodying the shift of focus of the work of the Party and state and the changes of the Party's policies on intellectuals in the Party's organizational line and its line on cadres. The correction of the Party's policies on this subject is undoubtedly and extremely important step.

The Essence of the Problem

Correcting the Party's policies towards intellectuals covers many aspects. But the essence of it is a problem concerning theory—a problem related to politics. It is a question as to whether the intellectuals should be seen as part of the working class and other labouring people, or as alien elements.

But some have said that the view of regarding intellectuals as part of the working people was only put forward recently, and does not reflect the traditional stand of our Party. This is wrong. On the contrary, regarding the intellectuals in general as part of the bourgeois class is not the traditional stand of our Party. It is a view which came into fashion after

1957, and deviated from the traditional Party opinion.

What has been our Party's traditional standpoint?

To understand it, we must look at the statements made by Party and state leaders before and after liberation.

In 1948 Comrade Mao Zedong said on several occasions that by working people, the main body of the Chinese people's revolution and the people's democratic dictatorship, "are meant all those engaged in manual labour (such as workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.) as well as those engaged in mental labour who are close to those engaged in manual labour and are not exploiters but are exploited." ("On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," *Selected Works*

Xu Zhenwan, a municipal engineering expert from Gansu Province, has designed a water works to be built on the water's surface, an important achievement in research.



of Mao Zedong, Vol. IV.) In a telegram he wrote on behalf of the Party Central Committee, Mao said, "The Shanxi-Hebei-Shan-

dong-Henan political power organization is so big it should not represent only the peasants, but all working people (such as workers, peasants, independent industrialists and business people, professionals, and intellectuals engaged in mental labour) and the middle class (such as the petty bourgeoisie, middle-class bourgeoisie and enlightened gentry) with the working people as its main body."

At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1949, Mao Zedong pointed out that the people's democratic dictatorship "requires that our Party conscientiously unite the entire working class, the entire peasantry and the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals; those are the leading and basic forces of the dictatorship." He also said, "Unite with as many as possible of the representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who can cooperate with us and with their intellectuals and political groups." ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV.)

It is clear that Comrade Mao Zedong included "intellectuals engaged in mental labour" and the "broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals" in the category of the working people and saw them as part of the main body of the people's democratic dictatorship, in-

stead of including them in the bourgeois class.

In the early years after liberation, the document on the question of the class division during the agrarian reform pointed out that the intellectuals employed by the state, co-operatives or individuals were a part of the working class.

This view was systematically explained by Zhou Enlai in his report given on behalf of the Party Central Committee at the national conference on the question of intellectuals in 1956. Intellectuals were seen as a part of the working class mainly because they were engaged in mental labour and lived on their wages; they did not have any means of production, nor did they exploit others. Zhou Enlai said in his analysis of intellectuals from the old society that most of them were now employed by the state and were working for the socialist construction, so they had become part of the working class. This was not only for the reasons already mentioned, but also for the changes in the relations between intellectuals and the state after liberation, for the ideological and political progress they made and

for their service to socialism and the labouring people in their work.

At the conference Zhou emphatically criticized the factional tendencies in treating intellectuals. He pointed out that the basic cause of these factional tendencies was underestimating the great progress the intellectuals had made in politics, and refusing to accept them as a part of the working class.

Unfortunately this assessment was swept away, together with the conclusions drawn in the document on the question of class division, after the anti-Rightist campaign in 1957 enlarged the scope of the class struggle. Intellectuals were then generally included in the bourgeois class. This was a lesson we had to learn through bitter experience.

At the 1962 Guangzhou meeting Comrade Zhou Enlai reiterated our Party's traditional opinion of intellectuals. He said the Chinese working class had established two kinds of alliances during the course of the revolution. One was with other working people and the other was with the national bourgeoisie, that is, an alliance with

the non-working people. The alliance with the national bourgeoisie certainly includes alliance with the intellectuals of this class. But generally speaking, the alliance with intellectuals is the alliance with other working people. In his speech Zhou Enlai quoted Lenin's words, "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata..." ("Foreword to the Published Speech 'Deception of the People With Slogans of Freedom and Equality,'" *Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol. 29.) The proletariat here refers to the industrial workers in a narrow sense. Intellectuals were included as non-proletarian working people in Lenin's note.

Zhou explained that these two alliances were important Party policies which should be considered vital in our estimation of intellectuals. Zhou's opinion conforms to Comrade Mao's explanation, of the two kinds of unity and of intellectuals being part of the labouring people, the main body of the people's dictatorship.

Not long after the Guangzhou meeting, Zhou Enlai gave a report on government work to the Third Session of the Second National People's Congress in which he reaffirmed that the majority of the Chinese intellectuals were of the working people, not of the bourgeoisie. He in fact restored the assessment made at the 1956 conference on intellectuals, which had been ignored for some time. This report was approved by the Party Central Committee.

Clearly, alliance with intellectuals as working people is the Party's traditional Marxist viewpoint. Deng Xiaoping has restored, upheld and developed this viewpoint, and demanded that we correct contrary, erroneous views. □

Middle-aged technician Han Bin (left) was made deputy head of the construction technology research office of the Ministry of Chemical Industry for his efforts to improve welding technology.



Are the 1967-76 Statistics on China's Economy Reliable?

The statistical figures basically tallied with the reality of the national economy of that much talked-about decade, which, though marred by imbalanced development, lopsided accumulation-consumption relationship and poor economic results, registered modest growth despite devastation wrought by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques

by LI CHENGRUI

Director of the State Statistical Bureau

S *STATISTICAL Yearbook of China* (1983), compiled by the State Statistical Bureau and released recently, made public for the first time the major annual figures on the national economy and social development between 1949 and 1982, including the period of the "cultural revolution" from May 1966 to October 1976. (see Facts and Figures on p. 27.) Some people have questioned how we could obtain the figures for the 10 years because statistical work was seriously hindered and disrupted during the "cultural revolution." They wonder if the figures are reliable.

According to statistics for the 10-year period, the average annual growth rate of the total product of society was 6.8 per cent and that of the national income, 4.9 per cent. But do they tally with the actual situation at that time? If these figures are basically reliable and reflect the actual situation, then how should we view the economic situation during those chaotic years? Here I present my personal views on these questions:

The Source of The Statistics

China's statistical work, like other work, was seriously disrupted

by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "cultural revolution." Between 1967 and 1969, the comprehensive statistical work at the national level almost came to a standstill. Although data collection in various provinces, prefectures, counties, departments and units was not completely suspended, many leaders of the statistical organizations were denounced as "capitalist-roaders" and many statistical systems were criticized as "revisionist." These created very unfavourable effects on the administration and economic management of the state.

In order to put an end to this state of affairs and in accordance with Premier Zhou's instruction that "statistical work should not be abolished," a statistical organization was set up in 1970 under the State Planning Commission. The commission issued a circular instructing that from May 1970, the periodical reports of statistics on industry, agriculture, capital construction, the number of workers and staff, the total amount of wages and the total volume of retail sales be restored. The circular also urged various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and the ministries and departments under the State Council to collect, sort out and supply the statistical data for the past three years.

From August 20 to September

22, 1971, the State Planning Commission held a national conference on statistical work and decided to restore the report system of basic statistics on the national economy. Although the statistical work was hindered to varying degrees in a few years after 1972, it has generally been restored.

In 1975, the year Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work of the central authorities, the political and economic situation in the country improved. At that time, to report the fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) to the Party Central Committee and the State Council, Party and government leaders in many places personally took a hand in the annual statistical reports, and consequently statistical work made great advances. Although the work was hampered by the campaign to "combat the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts" in 1976, the collection of important data continued.

What must be explained here is that when the comprehensive statistical work was suspended at the national level for three years, some departments, regions and many grass-roots units continued their statistical work. They included the departments of banks, finance, railways, communications and transport, post and telecommunications, commerce, grain and foreign trade. Of these, the figures kept by various organizations under the People's Bank were, comparatively speaking, complete and accurate. In the grass-roots units, as long as production continued, they generally kept the original records and bills. For the convenience of their work, many localities designed their own forms for reporting statistics and collected a considerable amount of data, including the annual figures for agricultural output, the output value of industry and the output of major products.

How were the national statistical figures between 1967 and 1969 made up? As I have mentioned previously, we set about the work immediately after the statistical organization was restored in May 1970. After careful collection and repeated checks, the major statistics for those three years had been basically supplied by the end of 1971.

For example, in obtaining agricultural statistics we collected the accumulated figures supplied by the production headquarters of various localities. We also gathered the amounts of purchases for farm produce by the commercial and grain departments, and then estimated the output figures according to the proportion of produce purchased by the state and according to the proportion consumed or sold by the peasants themselves. These two estimates were carefully checked. In addition, we analysed and appraised the output figures according to the fluctuations of grain prices on the rural market before reaching a final conclusion.

The major figures missing from 1967 to 1969 were eventually supplied. But some detailed group and annual figures, including certain economic and technical targets in industrial production and the annual distribution figures of earnings in the people's communes were not.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, the State Statistical Bureau was separated from the State Planning Commission and was put directly under the State Council. In 1980, the State Statistical Bureau compiled *Statistics of the National Economy in the 30 Years Since the Founding of the People's Republic*. We again asked various localities and departments to check their figures for the years during the "cultural revolution." This double-checking took three years, which is why we

published the above-mentioned *Statistical Yearbook of China* (1983) only recently.

We find that although some of the figures released for the 10 chaotic years are estimated, they have been repeatedly checked and are not without a solid base. For the most part, they are reliable.

Truthfulness

By analysing the figures for the 10 chaotic years, we may judge if they reflect the general trend of economic development at that time.

It is helpful to compare the annual figures for total product of society and national income* during that period with those of the preceding year in Table I.

lower than the preceding year, and compared with 1967 it went down by 4.7 per cent in 1968. The national income went down by 7.2 per cent in 1967 and further dropped by 6.5 per cent in 1968. At that time, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques staged to seize power in different parts of the country. Whoever encouraged production would be labelled as "grasping production at the expense of revolution" and overthrown on that account.

The total product of society and the national income gradually picked up from 1969 to 1973, thanks to the struggle waged by Premier Zhou Enlai and other revolutionaries of the older generation and by the broad masses. The national income went up by

Table I

(Taking the preceding year as 100)

	Total Product of Society	Gross Output Value of Industry	Gross Output Value of Agriculture	National Income
1967	90.1	86.2	101.6	92.8
1968	95.3	95.0	97.5	93.5
1969	125.3	134.3	101.1	119.3
1970	124.1	130.7	111.5	123.3
1971	110.4	114.9	103.1	107.0
1972	104.4	106.6	99.8	102.9
1973	108.6	109.5	108.4	108.3
1974	101.9	100.3	104.2	101.1
1975	111.5	115.1	104.6	108.3
1976	101.4	101.3	102.5	97.3

The table shows how the national economy travelled the tortuous course of "two ups and three downs" during the "cultural revolution." We can clearly see the three economic setbacks caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques.

The first setback came in 1967 and 1968. The total product of society in 1967 was 9.9 per cent

19.3 per cent in 1969. The growth eventually restored the economy to

* The total product of society is the sum of the gross output value of the five material producing departments: industry; agriculture; the building trade; communications, transport, post and telecommunications; and commerce. National income is the sum of the net output value (material consumption is deducted from the gross output value) of the five departments.

its original level. The national income went up by 23.3 per cent and 7 per cent in 1970 and 1971 respectively. Construction in the interior areas and the sharp increase in investments accelerated the growth of heavy industry, contributing to the growth in the two years.

The national income increased by just 2.9 per cent in 1972. Growth slowed because unfavourable weather reduced agricultural output.

In 1974, the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique again damaged the national economy, vigorously launching the "campaign to criticize Confucius." Whoever encouraged production would be labelled "Confucianist" and removed from his position. The total product of society grew by only 1.9 per cent that year and the national income went up 1.1 per cent.

Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work of the central authorities in 1975 and began to straighten things out. The economy soon took a turn for the better. The total product of society went up by 11.5 per cent and the national income rose by 8.3 per cent that year.

But the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique damaged the national economy for the third time in 1976 when they whipped up the campaign to "combat the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts." Whoever did a good job in production would be labelled as "Right deviationist." The Tangshan earthquake also had a negative influence on the national economy. The total product of society that year registered an increase of only 1.4 per cent, and the national income was 2.7 per cent lower than the preceding year.

All in all, the ups and downs reflected in the statistics basically

conform to the political and economic changes of the times.

Since there was serious disruption brought by the "cultural revolution" to the national economy, some people have asked how there could still be considerable growth. While it is true that the annual

In 1970, Premier Zhou Enlai instructed that statistical work should not be abolished and had a statistical department set up under the State Planning Commission, thereby restoring the work after three years of interruption. Five years later, when Deng Xiaoping took charge of the nation's work, the collection of important data continued. . . .

growth rates of total product of society and national income were not too slow by themselves, they were rather slow compared with the 14 years before or six years after the "cultural revolution." (See Table II)

The average annual growth rate of the total product of society was 6.8 per cent in the 10 chaotic years, lower than the 8.2 per cent in the previous 14 years and the 8.9 per cent in the later six years. The

gross output value of industry whose production suffered seriously in the 10 years rose at an annual rate of 8.5 per cent during the "cultural revolution." The rate was lower than both the 12.9 per cent in the previous 14 years and the 9.4 per cent in the later six years. The annual growth rate of 7.2 per cent in net industrial output value in the 10-year period was also below the 14-year rate of 13.6 per cent and the 6-year rate of 9.1 per cent.

What must be stressed here is that the growth of the national economy during the 10 chaotic years can be attributed mainly to the rapid development of energy resources. Crude oil output rose from 14.55 million tons in 1966 to 87.16 million tons in 1976. The average annual growth rate was 19.6 per cent. In 1966, 252 million tons of raw coal were produced. Its output rose to 483 million tons in 1976, registering an average annual growth rate of 6.7 per cent. The total output of all kinds of energy in terms of standard coal increased from 208.33 million tons in 1966 to 503.4 million tons in 1976, achieving an average annual increase of 9.2 per cent.

The big increase in oil output not only boosted the energy production but also provided raw materials for the petrochemical industry, which in turn encouraged development of textile and other light industries by providing them

Table II **Average Annual Growth Rate (%)**

	1953-1966	1967-1976	1977-1982
Total Product of Society	8.2	6.8	8.9
Agriculture & Industry	8.5	7.1	8.7
Agriculture	2.9	3.3	6.8
Industry	12.9	8.5	9.4
National Income	6.2	4.9	7.5
Agriculture & Industry	6.4	5.2	7.5
Agriculture	2.0	2.5	5.0
Industry	13.6	7.2	9.1

with raw materials. It is easy to see that simply because energy output grew at an average of 9.2 per cent annually during the 10 years, the total product of society was able to rise by 6.8 per cent and the national income went up by 4.9 per cent annually on the average.

Why did energy production grow so quickly during those years of domestic turmoil? Apart from the fact that the state invested about 50,000 million yuan in energy development and the workers and staff members of the energy departments kept up their production under very harsh conditions, there are two other very important factors. First, the energy "reserves" of the previous 14 years were put to use, and second, the reserves which should have been put aside for future production were used.

In the 14 years before the "cultural revolution," the state invested a great deal of money in energy development, bringing about remarkable progress. The Daqing, Shengli, Dagang and Huabei oilfields found huge oil deposits. Many coal shafts were sunk, and the coal deposits ready for mining were sufficient for 5.08 years of production in 1965 (3 to 5 years on the average). These favourable conditions helped the rapid growth of energy production during the 10 chaotic years.

But undue emphasis on increasing energy output for a period of time during the "cultural revolution" seriously upset many balances in production such as that between coal output and tunneling. We must now devote great efforts to restore these balances. Consequently, energy production did not make any real progress, but actually dropped off a bit in 1980. (Energy production was 1.3 per cent lower than the preceding year, and went down by 0.8 per cent in 1981.)

The above explanations show that the statistics for the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" basically reflect the trend of economic development and changes at the time.

Analyses and Conclusions

Since the statistics for the "cultural revolution" period are basically reliable, we can use them to analyse the economic situation during the 10 years.

The national economy suffered great losses in the decade. A rough estimate is that from 1974 to 1976 the total industrial output value was 100,000 million yuan less than that achieved by a normal pace of development. In steel output it was 28 million tons less, and in the state revenue, 40,000 million yuan less.

However, the national economy did make progress in the decade thanks to the efforts of the cadres and the people. The total product of society in 1966 was 306,200

million yuan; it rose 92.8 per cent, to 543,300 million yuan in 1976, when calculated in terms of comparable prices. I have already mentioned the big increases in coal and oil production. Grain output rose from 214 million tons in 1966 to 286.31 million tons in 1976 and steel went from 15.32 million tons to 20.46 million tons.

Many key construction projects were also completed during this period. These included the Liujiashan hydropower station with an installed capacity of 1.22 million kw, the Danjiangkou water conservation project which can store 20,000 million cubic metres of water and generate 900,000 kw of electricity, railway lines from Guiyang in Guizhou Province to Kunming in Yunnan Province, from Jiaozuo in Henan Province to Zhicheng in Hubei Province, from Hunan Province to Guizhou Province and from Yangpingguan to Ankang in Shaanxi Province, and the Changjiang Bridge in Nanjing. We also conducted our

Table III

	% of Total Product of Society		% of National Income	
	1966	1976	1966	1976
Agriculture	29.7	25.4	43.6	41.0
Industry	53.1	58.1	38.2	43.3
Construction	6.4	8.0	3.7	4.9
Transport	3.3	2.9	4.2	3.8
Commerce	7.5	5.6	10.3	7.0

	% of Total Industrial Output Value		% of Net Industrial Output Value	
	1966	1976	1966	1976
Light Industry	49.0	44.2	47.2	40.4
Heavy Industry	51.0	55.8	52.8	59.6

first hydrogen bomb test and recovered our man-made satellites. It should be recognized that all these achievements were made under extremely difficult conditions. China's economy would surely have made very great strides, had it not been for the "cultural revolution."

In studying the national economy in this period we face two problems different in nature. One is the criminal destruction wreaked by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, which I will not deal with here. The other is the economic work itself. This problem takes on many aspects.

1. Serious disproportion between various economic sectors.

Table III shows how the five components of the total product of society and national income changed from 1966 to 1976.

We find out in Table III that the proportion of agriculture in the national income declined from 43.6 per cent in 1966 to 41 per cent in 1976 and the proportion of industry rose from 38.2 per cent to 43.3 per cent in the same period. If we take the net industrial output value as 100 per cent, the proportion of light industry went down from 47.2 per cent to 40.4 per cent in the 10-year period while that of heavy industry increased from 52.8 per cent to 59.6 per cent. That is to say, agriculture and light industry became weaker than before and heavy industry grew at a disharmonious, fast pace.

The proportion of transport in the national income fell from 4.2 per cent to 3.8 per cent in the period and that of commerce from 10.3 per cent to 7 per cent. As a result, commodity transport and circulation slowed down and transport became a very weak link in the national economy.

The irrational structure of the national economy is seen most clearly in the figures for major industrial and agricultural products. The average annual output of grain increased only 3 per cent and cotton cloth, just 1.9 per cent.

The annual growth rates of total product of society and state revenue during the "cultural revolution" were not slow by themselves; but they compared unfavourably with the figures of both the previous 14 years and the six years that ensued.

Production of cotton and oil-bearing crops dropped. Manufacture of the means of production, especially of machines, went up rapidly. But most of the increased products of heavy industry were made to serve the industry itself, and gave no boost to the production of consumer goods. The slow growth of consumer goods, in turn,

hindered the development of the means of production.

2. Serious disproportion between accumulation and consumption.

Table IV shows the changes in the proportions between accumulation and consumption and in the two parts of accumulation devoted to productive and non-productive uses from 1966 to 1976.

In the first three years of the 10-year period, construction was halted or slowed down because of the violence and chaos the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques spread. The rate of accumulation in the national income dropped from 30.6 per cent in 1966 to 21.3, 21.1 and 23.2 per cent in the succeeding three years respectively. It rose enormously in 1970 when the long-standing guideline of high-speed development and high accumulation prevailed again after there appeared better social and production order. From 1970 to 1976, the accumulation rate stood between 31.6 and 34.1 per cent with the exception of 1976. The rate was 30.9 per cent in 1976 because the campaign to "combat the Right

Table IV

	Composition of National Income (%)		Composition of Accumulation (%)	
	Accumulation	Consumption	Productive	Non-Productive
1966	30.6	69.4	68.9	31.1
1967	21.3	78.7	82.2	17.8
1968	21.1	78.9	78.5	21.5
1969	23.2	76.8	76.2	23.8
1970	32.9	67.1	71.8	28.2
1971	34.1	65.9	76.2	23.8
1972	31.6	68.4	78.7	21.3
1973	32.9	67.1	73.7	26.3
1974	32.3	67.7	75.4	24.6
1975	33.9	66.1	73.4	26.6
1976	30.9	69.1	79.3	20.7

deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts" hampered capital construction. In view of China's present economic development, an accumulation rate above 31 per cent is obviously too high.

During this 10-year period, not only was the accumulation rate too high, but investment in productive capital construction was also much higher than that in non-productive capital construction, such as housing, hospitals, schools and shops. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), 67 per cent of investment was in productive construction and the rest was in non-productive construction. But during the "cultural revolution" investment in productive construction went up to 82.8 per cent. This brought great hardships upon the people and hampered the training of competent personnel.

The average grain, pork and cotton cloth consumed per capita (see Table V) rose only slightly from 1966 to 1976. In fact, even less edible vegetable oil was consumed in 1976 than in 1966. Compared with the previous years after liberation, the average per-capita grain consumption in 1976 (381 jin) was 14 jin less than the 1952 figure and 28 jin less than the peak year of 1956 (409 jin).

The low level of consumption is closely linked to the rapid growth of the population during the 10-year period. The population in 1966 was 2.8 per cent more than the previous year, already a high growth rate. In the five years from 1967 to 1971, the annual growth rate averaged 2.7 per cent and the population increased by 106.87 million. After 1972, when family planning work was restored and strengthened, the growth rate began to decrease. But since the population was already quite large, the population increased by 190 million in the 10 years, equal to the total population of Japan and France. Between 1966 and 1976,

the average annual increase was 2.3 per cent, and the population grew from 745.42 million to 937.17 million.

3. Poor economic efficiency and deficits in state finance.

The big increase of oil output boosted the energy production and provided raw materials for textile and other light industries. Simply because energy output grew at an average of 9.2 per cent annually during the 10 years, the total product of society was able to rise by 6.8 per cent and the national income went up by 4.9 per cent every year.

Table V

Per-Capita Consumption	1966	1976
Grain (jin)	379	381
Edible Vegetable Oil (jin)	3.5	3.2
Pork (jin)	14.0	14.4
Cotton Cloth (metre)	6.57	7.79

Notes: One jin equals 0.5 kilogramme. Grain refers to commercial processed grain.

During this period, although the national income did rise, the increase was gained by investing more, using much more labour force and consuming a great deal of energy and raw materials rather than by raising economic efficiency.

Every 100 yuan invested in state industrial enterprises practising independent accounting turned out 34.5 yuan in profits and taxes in 1966. But in 1976 only 19.3 yuan of profits and taxes came from every 100 yuan invested, a 44.1 per cent decrease.

Economic efficiency was so low because enterprise management was in a mess, the structure of the national economy was irrational and the relationship among the various economic sectors was seriously out of proportion.

The state revenue increased during the "cultural revolution," reflecting economic expansion. Owing to plummeting efficiency, revenues could not keep pace with the growth of production and state expenditures rose faster than revenues. Four of the 10 years saw budget deficits, including three years in a row from 1974 to 1976. The total deficit for these 10 years reached 3,610 million yuan. The state did not have enough circulation funds, and more credit and currency were issued. These in fact are also deficits in disguise.

Analyses of the statistics of the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" show that the national economy during this period was characterized by high accumulation, quick development, low economic efficiency and low consumption. This situation resulted from prevalence of rash thinking, and was made worse by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. Production suffered great losses and its annual fluctuations greatly reduced the accumulation and economic growth rates during some years. These economic trends conform to what happened in those 10 years. Therefore, they also prove that the figures for the 10 years in the *Statistical Yearbook of China* (1983) basically reflect the annual fluctuations, production, distribution, consumption and the various proportional relations of the economy. □

China's Major Economic Statistics, 1966-76

I. Comprehensive Statistics for the National Economy

(All figures are based on prices for that year, in units of 100 million yuan, except for population.)

Total Product of Society

	Total Product of Society	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Transport	Commerce	Total Industrial Output Value	
							Light Industry	Heavy Industry
1966	3,062	910	1,624	197	102	229	796	828
1967	2,774	924	1,382	155	86	227	733	649
1968	2,648	928	1,285	132	83	220	690	595
1969	3,184	948	1,665	222	99	250	837	828
1970	3,800	1,058	2,080	271	117	274	960	1,120
1971	4,203	1,107	2,375	311	128	282	1,020	1,355
1972	4,396	1,123	2,517	323	136	297	1,079	1,438
1973	4,776	1,226	2,741	335	144	330	1,189	1,552
1974	4,859	1,277	2,730	376	142	334	1,213	1,517
1975	5,379	1,343	3,124	437	160	315	1,376	1,748
1976	5,433	1,378	3,158	435	155	307	1,395	1,763

State Revenues and Expenditures

	Revenues	Expenditures	Balances
1966	558.7	541.6	+17.1
1967	419.4	441.9	-22.5
1968	361.3	359.8	+ 1.5
1969	526.8	525.9	+ 0.9
1970	662.9	649.4	+13.5
1971	744.7	732.2	+12.5
1972	766.6	766.4	+ 0.2
1973	809.7	809.3	+ 0.4
1974	783.1	790.8	- 7.7
1975	815.6	820.9	- 5.3
1976	776.6	806.2	-29.6

National Income**Investment for Fixed Assets in
State-Owned Enterprises****Population**
(Year-end figures)

Unit: 10,000

Total National Income		Total Investment		Population	
1966	1,586	1966	254.80	1966	74,542
1967	1,487	1967	187.72	1967	76,368
1968	1,415	1968	151.57	1968	78,534
1969	1,617	1969	246.92	1969	80,671
1970	1,926	1970	368.08	1970	82,992
1971	2,077	1971	417.31	1971	85,229
1972	2,136	1972	412.81	1972	87,177
1973	2,318	1973	438.12	1973	89,211
1974	2,348	1974	463.19	1974	90,859
1975	2,503	1975	544.94	1975	92,420
1976	2,427	1976	523.94	1976	93,717

Note: The figures include the population and army-men in the service of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions on the mainland, but not those of Taiwan Province.

II. Output of Major Products

Unit: 10,000 tons

	Energy (in terms of standard fuel)	Steel	Cement	Grain	Cotton	Oil-Bearing Crops
1966	20,833	1,532	2,015	21,400	233.7	
1967	17,494	1,029	1,462	21,782	235.4	
1968	18,715	904	1,262	20,906	235.4	
1969	23,104	1,333	1,829	21,097	207.9	
1970	30,990	1,779	2,575	23,996	227.7	377.2
1971	35,289	2,132	3,158	25,014	210.5	411.3
1972	37,785	2,338	3,547	24,048	195.8	411.8
1973	40,013	2,522	3,731	26,494	256.2	418.6
1974	41,626	2,112	3,709	27,527	246.1	441.4
1975	48,754	2,390	4,626	28,452	238.1	452.1
1976	50,340	2,046	4,670	28,631	205.5	400.8

Note: Energy does not include the use of biological, solar, geothermal and nuclear energy.

Third National Census (V)

Natural Population Fluctuations in 1981

ACCORDING to manual tabulations of the 1982 census, the birth rate on China's mainland was 20.91 per thousand, and the mortality rate was 6.36 per thousand. The natural increase in the population was therefore 14.55 per thousand. This increase is still too high, if China wants to reach its goal of keeping the population

within 1,200 million by the end of the century.

From 1982 to 2000, the population increase must be kept within 191.82 million, which means the average annual increase cannot exceed 10.37 million or the growth rate at 9.5 per thousand.

It will not be easy to stay within these limits. China now was a

large population of women at child-bearing age and is experiencing a baby boom. The influence of multiple births on the natural population growth can be observed more clearly if we compare the fertility rate of women at child-bearing age, the multiple birth rate and the natural population fluctuations in 1981 in various parts of the country.

Natural Population Increase, Birth Rate of Women at Child-Bearing Age in 1981

	Birth Rate (‰)	Mortality Rate (‰)	Natural In- crease (‰)	Fertility Rate (person)	Multiple Birth Rate (%)
1. Shanghai	16.41	6.44	9.70	1.316	0.93
2. Sichuan	17.96	7.02	10.94	2.434	19.29
3. Zhejiang	17.93	6.27	11.66	1.982	19.08
4. Beijing	17.55	5.78	11.77	1.588	2.87
5. Jilin	17.67	5.32	12.35	1.842	14.59
6. Jiangsu	18.47	6.10	12.37	2.075	12.80
7. Tianjin	18.60	6.10	12.50	1.645	5.29
8. Shandong	18.84	6.26	12.58	2.104	14.90
9. Hubei	20.17	7.33	12.84	2.445	22.01
10. Liaoning	18.53	5.32	13.21	1.773	9.32
11. Shaanxi	20.35	7.10	13.25	2.394	24.09
12. Anhui	18.73	5.20	13.53	2.799	34.04
13. Shanxi	20.31	6.54	13.77	2.385	24.48
14. Jiangxi	20.42	6.54	13.88	2.790	35.19
15. Hunan	21.11	7.03	14.08	2.833	25.93
16. Gansu	20.12	5.72	14.40	2.728	31.77
17. Henan	20.64	6.01	14.63	2.651	27.60
18. Heilongjiang	19.79	4.95	14.84	2.061	19.16
19. Fujian	22.07	5.87	16.20	2.717	29.07
20. Yunnan	25.36	8.60	16.76	3.814	48.99
21. Inner Mongolia	23.11	5.77	17.34	2.621	29.37
22. Hebei	23.99	6.05	17.94	2.650	20.23
23. Qinghai	26.65	7.48	19.17	3.927	53.58
24. Guizhou	27.89	8.48	19.41	4.355	55.74
25. Guangdong	24.99	5.54	19.45	3.283	35.12
26. Xinjiang	29.08	8.41	20.67	3.883	54.71
27. Tibet	31.05	9.92	21.13		
28. Guangxi	27.25	5.61	21.64	4.103	45.01
29. Ningxia	29.65	6.08	23.57	4.120	49.12
National Average	20.91	6.36	14.55	2.584	27.03

Notes

(1) The fertility rate of women at child-bearing age and the multiple birth rate were not investigated for Tibet in 1981.

(2) Both the fertility rate of women at child-bearing age and the multiple birth rate in 1981 were based on the 10 per cent sample survey of the third census.

Using Northwest's Power Resources

from "SHIJIE
JINGJI DAOBAO"
(World Economic Herald)

WITH inadequate state investment in energy construction, it is necessary to fully develop the rich power resources in northwest China in order to meet minimum power needs for quadrupling the national agricultural and industrial output value by the end of the century, according to energy experts from northwest China.

There are now six power networks in China, but only the northwest has surplus power. It makes sense to send that surplus power to other parts of China. If several hundred million yuan are invested there annually, there will be, beginning in 1985, generators with a total capacity of one million kw each year to ease the power shortage in the north China, central China and southwest China power networks. This will also gradually shift the state's emphasis of construction to the

northwest, developing the economy there.

The northwest is also rich in coal, which can be used to generate power for other networks, alleviate the power and coal shortages in other parts of the country and reduce the pressure on transportation. The coal and power in northwest China will provide favourable conditions for moving the industrial enterprises which consume more energy in the economically developed areas to the northwest. This will lay the foundation for turning the area into one of China's heavy industrial centres by the 21st century.

Psychoanalysis of Troubled Youths

from "SHEHUI"
(Society)

TROUBLED young people change after a long process of complicated and difficult ideological struggle. This long process can be divided into five periods.

1. To try. When they want to go forward they always make up their minds first to try. In their own view, if they succeed in their first step, they will then turn over a new leaf. Otherwise they lose confidence. Sometimes they will take a defensive attitude and refuse to answer any questions directly when their leaders and comrades have a chat with them.

2. Making progress. Since they were once accused for their wrong doings and looked down upon by society, they are really grateful to their leaders and comrades for their help and are determined to correct their mistakes and lead a good life. They are happy and grateful. But in general they are easily upset.

3. Back and forth. With unstable thinking and complicated minds, they are complacent when they are praised. They will feel themselves inferior and lonely when they are criticized by others. In this case they may take up their old ways again if they met their former "friends."

4. Forward again. They are very bitter when they find they have gone back to their old ways and lost the respect, trust, love and concern they once gained from their leaders and comrades. At this time they really deeply regret what they have done.

5. Stability. During this period, the young people seek a stable life, and want to have their own families. Turning inward upon themselves, they seem like people older than their ages. They have their own thoughts, but are unwilling to speak out, even their opinions on what is happening around them. But their actions are positive. They always make

progress in their work. They are active but cold in their hearts.

Rhesus Monkeys Watch TV

from "WENHUI BAO"
(Wenhui Daily)

THE Nanwan peninsula in southeastern Hainan Island is the home of 1,000 rhesus monkeys, one of the most rare animals protected by the state.

In April 1983 the third battalion stationed there got a new TV set, and the soldiers were very glad. Every night they watched TV sitting on the ground outside their barracks. One night a group of rhesus monkeys came, led by a monkey king. They sat in the front of the soldiers and watched TV. The soldiers in the front disliked them for their smell and wanted to drive them away. But they were stopped by the battalion

commander Huang Xinguang. "Let them watch," the commander said humorously. "By watching TV they can become more evolved."

Just as a Chinese colloquial saying shows, it is difficult to keep monkeys quiet for a long time. Before long these monkeys did not enjoy the TV, and some young ones started to make noise. The monkey king came forward and "slapped" them. Until the end of the programme these young monkeys did not dare to make trouble again. Since then the monkeys have appeared every day, and receive a warm welcome.

Peasants' Wish

from "DAZHONG RIBAO"
(Dazhong Daily)

SIXTEEN peasant students have graduated from the Liaocheng Teachers' College after three years of hard study, to become the first group of peasant college graduates in New China who studied at their own expense in Liaocheng prefecture, Shandong Province.

As senior middle school graduates, these peasants were specially enrolled by the college as night students in October 1980.

At the beginning, the college was closed to them because it was difficult to find them work upon their graduation and pay for their study expenses. But these peasants said they came to study not for diplomas and permanent job but for knowledge. They wished to transform their village, and would study at their own expense. Their strong desire to study moved the college authorities and teachers, and they were finally enrolled. Their majors were politics, Chinese, English and mathematics.

They worked in their fields during the day and bicycled to college in the evening. Overcoming various difficulties with strong willpower, they finished all the required courses.

One graduate, Wang Liuyu from the Tangyi commune, had to bike 20 kilometres every evening to the college. In three years she did not miss one class, regardless of the weather. She studied diligently and averaged 85 points for her 18 courses.

Now they are back in their village and setting the example in scientific farming. They are praised as the first group of new peasants who have received a higher education.

A Good Doctor From Beijing

from "RENMIN RIBAO"
(People's Daily)

MY family members, relatives and neighbours are very grateful to Zhou Huakang, a veteran doctor from the Shoudu Hospital in Beijing for his help," Liu Gongqiu of the Yueyang Teachers' Training School in Hunan Province said in his letter to *Renmin Ribao*.

"Suffering from epilepsy five years ago, my aunt had not shown any signs of improvement after consulting many doctors. I worried about her. One day one of my colleagues said to me, 'Doctor Zhou Huakang from the Shoudu Hospital in Beijing once visited our village and cherishes a deep affection for the peasants here. Why don't you ask him for help?' I wrote a letter to Dr. Zhou. One week later I was surprised to receive a letter from Zhou, together with some medicine for my aunt to take for two weeks. He kept mailing the medicine for a whole year. I wrote a letter to thank him, and wanted to pay for the medicine and postage. He refused.

"During one Spring Festival, I sent him a preserved chicken and a dried fish. He mailed back 10 yuan for the food, and said in his letter, 'We have ample food here in Beijing. Please do not mail me anything. This time I'll take them and mail you 10 yuan for your gifts. Thanks.' Since then I dared not say again that we wanted to pay him.

"Over the past five years he has mailed medicine to my aunt every two weeks, and paid for all the medicine and postage. What a good doctor he is. We are all very grateful to him."

Peasant Cao Changbin (left) studies tea cultivation at the Fujian Agricultural College at his own expense.



New Vitality in Traditional Music

Seventy-eight compositions for traditional musical instrument reflecting the vigour and dignity of Chinese life were awarded last month at the Third Musical Composition Contest of China.

Among the eight first prize winners was Liu Wenjin's *The Great Wall*, an *erhu* concerto popular with the Chinese audience. By capturing the excitement and imagination of visitors to the Great Wall, the composer recalls the glorious history of the Chinese people.

When Liu Wenjin (then a composer with the Central National Music Ensemble) visited the United States with noted *erhu* soloist Min Huifen in 1978, he saw in a hall of the United Nations a tapestry on which the Great Wall, the symbol of ancient China, looked like a giant dragon flying into the sky. Compelled by a strong feeling of national dignity and patriotism, he decided to com-

pose an *erhu* concerto with the Great Wall as its theme.

The four movements of the concerto describe the grandeur of the Great Wall, the heroic fight to defend it, a memorial to the martyrs and its bright future. Although the music is played by *erhu* and a traditional ensemble, it is not restricted to the rigid form of a classical concerto. Instead, in every movement a unique national style is displayed by various instruments, adding more Chinese flavour to the whole composition.

Flowing River, a piece for instrumental ensemble by Peng Xiuwen, conductor of the Central Broadcasting Orchestra, and the flute solo *Moonlit Lake on an Autumn Night* by promising Shanghai soloist Yu Xunfa describe these natural scenes in a fresh and graceful style. The first, adapted from an ancient melody, portrays the Changjiang River—its source, its zigzag course, and its mighty

waters flowing to the sea. The second, based on the theme of an ancient poem, describes a lake in the moonlight. Both of them treat their subjects with beauty and elegance.

Twenty-two-year-old Fei Jianrong was the youngest prize winner at this contest. In *Night in a Border Village*, a *sanxian* (a three-stringed plucked instrument) solo, the student of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music depicts the life of China's minority nationalities. Fresh and living, the composition conjures up a scene of young people singing and dancing. It begins with an imitation of a wind instrument to present a quiet, misty night in a border village. The rhythmical knocking on the *sanxian* frame and its drum-like body which follows the beginning perfectly arouses a jubilant atmosphere.

The 200 compositions heard during the contest were for 30 traditional musical instruments, representing the music of various nationalities. For example, in *Camel Bells on the Silk Road*, an ensemble piece, the composer used 10 different instruments to create a scene along the silk road, symbol of the deep-rooted friendship between the Chinese and the Central Asian peoples. By adapting some Arabic folk tunes, the music was coloured with the unique style of the minority nationalities in northwestern China.

Another prize winner was *Impressions of Cliff Drawings*. It was written after the composer saw some primitive drawings on the cliffs of southwestern China. Using the *maguhu*, a Guangxi Zhuang

Composer Liu Wenjin (right) discussing "The Great Wall" with *erhu* soloist Min Huifen.



nationality ancient instrument, to play the main theme, the music also weaves in a piano and some percussion instruments. The ancient Dong nationality folk songs the composer drew on brought the audience far back to the primitive society.

Li Huanzhi, noted composer and vice-chairman of the Chinese Musi-

cians' Association, said the pieces by Han and other nationality composers were rich with striking national style and feeling, and were of a high level of musicianship.

One of the important reasons compositions for traditional musical instruments have made great progress is that more professional musicians are interested in this

style, he said. In the past, most of the music for traditional instruments was composed by the players themselves. Although they were skilled in playing their instruments, their knowledge and accomplishments in music were sometimes not enough for composing. The interests and efforts of professional composers will surely make this field of music flourish, Li said.

Flute Soloist Puts Poetry Into Music

The audience could hear the birds chirping in the woods in spring, and see the horses galloping across the pasture. A few minutes later they seemed to be among the busy harvesting peasants as they enjoyed the recital by Yu Xunfa, a flute soloist.

However, the 38-year-old musician is not satisfied with what he has achieved in playing his instrument. Instead, he has spent the past years seeking new ways to enrich the expressions and feelings a bamboo flute can convey.

To this purpose, he has nourished his art by reading classical poems and novels and learning Western and traditional Chinese painting. This has inspired him to begin writing his own flute compositions.

Yu won a first prize at the 1983 national contest of compositions for traditional musical instruments when he played *Moonlit Lake on an Autumn Night*, a piece he based on the theme of a 12th century poem.

Using a bass flute, the soloist creates the breeze, the ripples and a boat under the moonlight, all firing the ancient poet's imagination when he hears the tolling bells in a far away temple.

The Charm of Langya Mountain, another new composition, is based

on *The Roadside Hut of the Old Drunkard*, by Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), a famous prose writer of the Song Dynasty. Accompanied by a women's chorus, the composition suggests the gradual changes in the

is intoxicated by the beautiful scenes.

Yu spent 10 days composing the piece in a temple on the Langya Mountain, striving to become one with the compelling mountain and lake.

Yu Xunfa plays many classical and folk Chinese melodies. His performances are famous for his sweet sound, changing moods and excellent breath control. Music critics say his achievements in composition are also well-established in his new works, which emphasize feelings and impressions.

Yu also plays folk music of Japan, Romania, Korea, Canada and India. His understanding of foreign cultures has increased his concern for developing traditional Chinese music and musical instruments, he says. He has made the simple bamboo tube more expressive by using more than 30 fingering and breath techniques.

Yu Xunfa is from a Shanghai worker's family. He became interested in traditional Chinese music when he was in primary school. At 12 he performed with a children's amateur art troupe in the city. Later on he studied music with Lu Chunling, noted flute soloist. He joined the Shanghai Traditional Music Orchestra in 1960.



forests and mountains when the sun rises and sets, illustrating various scenes in the four seasons. It also depicts an old official who

Yu Youren's Poems and Calligraphy Published

Two books, *A Collection of Yu Youren's Poems* and *Selected Calligraphy by Yu Youren*, were recently published, the first by the Hunan People's Publishing House and the second by the Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House. Yu was a founder of the Kuomintang and the late President of the Control Yuan of the Taiwan government. General Secretary Hu Yaobang wrote the titles of the two books and Qu Wu, Yu's son-in-law and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, wrote a preface for the poetry collection.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War between 1924 and 1927, Yu supported Sun Yat-sen in reforming the Kuomintang and carrying out the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the workers and peasants. In 1926, with the help of Communist Li Dai-zhao, Yu sneaked into the Soviet Union, where he tried hard to encourage General Feng Yuxiang to support the Northern Expedition.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Yu advocated unity and persistence in the war.

After the victory in the anti-Japanese war, Yu held a banquet in honour of Chairman Mao Zedong in Chongqing, where Mao had taken part in the peace negotiations. Here Yu again expressed his support for Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and the peaceful construction of China.

It was against his will when he left the mainland in 1949 for Taiwan, recalled Qu Wu, who had

served as an advisor to the delegation from the Nanjing government negotiating with the Communist Party in Peiping (Beijing) in the spring of 1949. On April 16, 1949, Yu was going to Nanjing with a peace agreement. Supposing there was little possibility the Kuomintang government would approve the agreement, Zhou Enlai asked Qu Wu to tell Yu that if the Nanjing government refused to accept the offer, the People's Liberation Army would cross the Changjiang (Yangtze) River and occupy Nanjing. Zhou Enlai hoped Yu would wait for them, and he would be invited to Peiping to set up a new political consultative organization, together with Li Jichen and others. But Yu was surprised on the morning of April 21, when a high-ranking Kuomintang officer accompanied by armed guards forced Yu to get in a car. He was taken to Nanjing airport and flown to Taiwan.

Yu's situation in Taiwan was always in the mind of Premier Zhou Enlai. In March 1961, Yu revealed his worries through his friend in Xianggang (Hongkong): "My wife will turn 80 this year, but I'm not on the mainland. She will feel desolate on her birthday. My heart breaks when I think of this."

When Premier Zhou learnt of his worry, he asked Qu Wu to make a special trip to Xian where Yu's wife lived, and give a birthday party in the name of her son-in-law. Pictures taken at the party were later sent to Yu. In his reply, Yu asked Qu Wu to convey his thanks to Zhou Enlai.

Yu was famous for his flowing calligraphy. His poetry, *ci* (writ-

ten to certain tunes with strict tonal patterns and rhyme schemes), and *qu* (a type of verse for singing) were also well written.

A Collection of Yu Youren's Poems gathers more than 600 poems written between 1898 and 1964. Some record important events in modern history. *Random Thought*, the first poem in the collection, was written by Yu in his youth. Readers can feel his concern for the rise and fall of the nation, and his noble ambitions to save working people from their deep suffering and revitalize China to become one of the strongest countries again.

In his later years, Yu felt lonely in Taipei. He thought of the mainland day and night. This feeling is strongly expressed in the sad melody he wrote one year before his death:

"Bury me on the high mountains,

From where I can see the mainland.

But, alas, I can't see it,

I can only cry my heart out."

Although Taiwan publishers have printed Yu's poems, they did not add any notes. They also exclude an important poem about Yu's meeting with General Feng Yuxiang in the Soviet Union in 1926, and some poems remembering past times or old acquaintances while he was in Taiwan.

However, the collection published in Hunan not only adds some necessary notes, but is also supplemented with photos and poems that Taiwan had missed.



Mathematician.



Girl and a Firefly.

Woodcuts by Yan Tieliang

To master the skills of engraving, Yan Tieliang has studied the relationship between forms in ancient and modern art. Capitalizing on the blackwhite contrast, he cuts bold lines, full of power and motion. Yet his works are also full of love for China's fine past and promising future.

Born in 1942 in Beijing, Yan is now teaching at the Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts.



Scenes From Chinese Folklore.

ART PAGE



On the Path in the Huangshan Mountain.

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